UNEMPLOYMENT AND FEEBLE-MINDEDNESS

GLEN R. JOHNSON

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LOS ANGELES
STATE NORMAL SCHOOL

UNEMPLOYMENT AND FEEBLE-MINDEDNESS

BY

GLENN R. JOHNSON

[**Note:** These reprints are sent to subscribers because of certain errors in Mr. Johnson's article, as originally printed. Through an unfortunate circumstance, two of the misplaced lines appeared in Dr. Pintner's review, page 99, lines 18 and 19. These should be deleted.]

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LOS ANGELES
STATE NORMAL SCHOOL

UNEMPLOYMENT AND FEEBLE-MINDEDNESS

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This paper is based on a psychological study of unemployment its relation to feeble-mindedness. The Stanford revision of the Binet-Simon Scale and five Reed College tests have been applied to 107 destitute unemployed men picked at random from among the unemployed in Portland, Oregon, during the unemployment season of 1914-15. The tests were supplemented by a questionnaire.

Industrial conditions on the Pacific Coast are not conducive to steady employment. The unemployment problem is one of seasonal industry. Fruit and grains ripen early in Southern California. As the season advances the crops to the north gradually mature. Casual laborers migrate to the north in search of continuous employment. In October, the last of the harvests are gathered in Washington. In the winter months there is very little work to be obtained in the country districts, consequently, thousands of men congregate in the larger cities, where few can be employed. In addition to these casual workers, there is a large increment of loggers and sawmill hands who are forced into idleness owing to the shutting down of the timber industry due to unfavorable weather conditions.

Some of these men have saved enough money to tide them through the winter. Others have not been able to save enough to maintain themselves in idleness for many months. Still others have squandered their money in gambling and drinking and have thereby become destitute. Mingled among these men are numerous professional beggars and tramps and physical and mental defectives.

The men mentioned above congregate in the slums of the various coast cities. Their usual environments have been such as to make them seek the company commonly found in saloons or cheap lodging houses. One of these men may come to town with the best of intentions to live within his means and remain sober. But the only

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places where he is welcomed are the tenderloin resorts. He has no inclination to go to church, read at the library, or mix with local social groups. Most of these men are not very well educated, are poorly clad, do not have much money, and are not sanguine of the future. They are not welcomed among the so called better social groups and are too proud to accept the hospitality of those who are inclined to be condescending. Compliance with the rules of charitable social centers require too much inhibition. Besides, there are too few of these places. Saloons are the most enticing lounging places. With a few drinks all good intentions are thrown to the four winds, and destitution comes quickly.

During several winter seasons, the writer mingled among the unemployed men gathered in the slums of Portland, Oregon. It was observed that many of the unemployed men seemed stupid or feeble-minded. It was pretty certain that some were actually feeble-minded, but it was impossible to determine from casual observation what percentage were defective.

Mental defectiveness among vagrant women indicates that feeble-mindedness is associated with the problem of unemployment as well. Psychological tests given to women detained in houses of correction have established the startling fact that from 25 per cent to 50 per cent are feeble-minded. Dr. Davis of the Bedford Reformatory for Women has found that out of 647 cases there were 20 of insanity, 107 of feeble-mindedness, and 193 of mental defectiveness according to the Binet mental tests. Thus, 320 or about 50 per cent were mentally defective. Other pyschological investigations seem to indicate that these percentages of feeble-mindedness hold for the prostitute class as a whole.

The Portland, Oregon, Vice Commission, after a thorough investigation, reported that there were in Portland approximately 2,500 prostitutes. If 25 to 50 per cent of these women were mentally defective, then there were in Portland 625 to 1,250 who were feeble-minded. If this is true for the women of this class, it is to be expected from the knowledge we have of biology, that there is a similar number of feeble-minded men in the same population. The factors making for normality or abnormality are to be found in the germ cells. One chance out of two or fifty chances out of one hundred the germ cells develop into the male sex. Since feeble-mindedness is hereditary

and follows the Mendelian laws of inheritance*, one would expect to find the same number of feeble-minded men with the mental traits of feeble-minded prostitutes.

Where there is stagnation in labor conditions, one would expect that the first ones to be thrown out of employment would be those who were mentally backward, and who were working on the margin of productivity. Those who are mentally inferior could not hold their positions when in competition with more intelligent people. Those who are out of work in the largest numbers are the ones who follow unskilled or seasonal occupations. Men who are mentally inferior would follow such occupations and hence be the first to be thrown out of employment when business conditions become slack. Their earnings would not be large and besides, they would not be apt to manage the expenditure of the earnings properly. Therefore, the mentally backward men would be among those who are likely to be destitute during the unemployment season.

In the winter of 1914-15, Portland maintained two large headquarters for destitute men. One of these places was a large old-fashioned abandoned lodging house in the North End or slum district of the city. The city paid a nominal sum for rent. The 750 men who sought refuge there co-operated in order to live as cheaply as possible. Benevolent citizens supplied them with flour and other provisions; but the supply of provisions was extremely meager. There were less than twenty beds in the house, so most of the men had to sleep on bare floors. As a rule, these men were independent. They scorned condescending philanthrophy. Many of the men were Industrial Workers of the World and Socialists. The other municipal lodging house was located in a large old vacant laundry building on the East Portland water front. Rough bunks were constructed for the men. A wood yard was operated in connection. The men worked up rafts of logs into salable cord wood which was sold by the city in order to pay expenses. Meals were supplied to those men who presented meal checks given to them for working in the wood yard. On the average, 620 men found daily refuge and lodging in this place.

There were numerous other places where destitute unemployed men gathered. The Associated Charities looked after the welfare of 450 men; Jewish and Catholic organizations provided for 350 men; the Salvation Army lodging house and other private benevolent institutions quartered about 400 each night; The Married Workers' Asso-

*H. H. Goddard, *Feeble-Mindedness*, pp. 547, 533 et seq.

ciation enrolled 650. On April 15, 1915, I listed 3,610 destitute unemployed men quartered at the above named places. In addition to this number there were many hundred others who were staying at cheap lodging houses, walking the streets, or who were being cared for by friends. On any given night during the unemployment season, there were probably more than 5,000 idle destitute men in Portland.

The Stanford Revision of the Binet Scale was selected as comprising the best mental tests. The Binet tests have been modified in order to meet the requirements called for by extensive empirical studies. Tests for average adults and superior adults have been added. The range of the mental tests is between three years and nineteen years mental ages. The sixteen year level approximates average adult intelligence. The eighteen year level is that of superior adult intelligence.

In addition to the Binet Scale five tests given to 249 Reed College students were used. One of these tests was for logical memory, another for attention, and three for suggestibility. The tests were supplemented by a questionnaire in order to bring out various factors of environment and heredity.

The tests were given to the men in a secluded room of a business building in the central part of the city. Few people or noises interfered with the rapport of the subjects. Men were selected at random, and great care was taken so that the group tested would be a typical non-selected group of the destitute unemployed men as a whole. Foreigners other than English speaking people were eliminated. All men who submitted to the tests were rewarded with money, meal tickets, or useful articles. With few exceptions, the men submitted to the tests gracefully and seemingly performed to the best of their abilities. There was only one man who did not try to do his best. But even this man tried to do as well as he could for the major portions of the tests. Two other men refused to take the tests when they learned the nature of them.

The time required to give the tests ranged from one hour and fifteen minutes to two hours and a half. The usual time was about two hours. The Stanford Revision tests required from an hour to one and one-half hours, the usual time being about one and one-quarter hours. The Reed College tests took from fifteen to thirty minutes. The questionnaire required about fifteen minutes or less.

107 men were selected at random from the following places: The Associated Charities, the Old Troy Laundry, the Unemployment Union, the Portland Commons, and the city employment bureau. The places from whence the men came and their numbers are as follows:

The Commons	12 Cases	Troy Laundry	31 Cases
Unemployment Union	29 Cases	City Emp. Bureau	9 Cases
		Associated Charities	26 Cases

Those who came from the Commons tested the highest. Then came in order the Unemployed Union, Troy Laundry, City Employment Bureau, and the Associated Charities.

The average age was 33 years, 9 months. The average mental age was 14 years, 5 months. The median mental age was 14 years, 7 months.

The average ages and mental ages of the men from the various places are shown in the following table:

	No.	Av. Age	Av. Mental Age
Commons	12	38 Yrs. 9 Mo.	15 Yrs. 8 Mo.
Unemployed Union	29	30 Yrs. 4 Mo.	15 Yrs. 7 Mo.
Troy Laundry	31	33 Yrs. 10 Mo.	14 Yrs. 7 Mo.
City Emp. Bu.	9	32 Yrs.	13 Yrs. 6 Mo.
Asso. Charities	26	34 Yrs.	13 Yrs. 3 Mo.
	107	33 Yrs. 9 Mo.	14 Yrs. 5 Mo.

The following table shows the number of men according to age and those in each group who tested high and low. Those who tested under the median of 14 years, 7 months, are considered low and those who tested above that age, high.

	No.	High	Low
Under 20	5	3	2
20-29	36	17	19
30-39	35	17	18
40-49	23	12	11
50 and over	8	3	5
Total	107	52	55

Four men or 50 per cent of those over 50 years of age tested under 12 year mental age and are probably feeble-minded.

The following table shows the number of men from the various places who tested average adult or superior adult:

	No.	Per Cent
Commons	6	50
Unemployment Union	12	41
Troy Laundry	8	26
Asso. Charities	3	12
City Emp. Bureau	1	11
Total	30	28

If those adults who test less than twelve years mental age are considered to be feeble-minded, then there were at the various places the percentages shown in the following table:

	No. Cases	Below 12	Per Cent of Total
Commons	12	1	8
Unemployed Union	29	0	0
Troy Laundry	31	7	23
City Emp. Bureau	9	2	22
Asso. Charities	26	9	35
Total	107	19	18

If under 13 years mental age is considered feeble-mindedness, then the following table will show the degree of mental defectiveness:

	No. Cases	Below 13	Per cent
Commons	12	1	8
Unemployed Union	29	2	7
Troy Laundry	31	11	36
City Emp. Bureau	9	2	22
Asso. Charities	26	12	46
Total	107	28	26

If under 14 years mental age is considered mental backwardness then the following table shows the extent of backwardness:

	No. Cases	Below 14	Per Cent
Commons	12	3	25
Unemployed Union	29	10	34
Troy Laundry	31	12	39
City Emp. Bureau	9	4	44
Asso. Charities	26	16	62
	107	45	42

If under 14 years mental age is the low adult level as Professor Terman is led to consider by his tests of uneducated working people, then there are among those I have tested, 63, or 58 per cent who are low and superior adults in intelligence.

The results of these tests have been measured quantatively. It will be noted that most of the questions referred to in the following pages are questions of association. For instance, the question whether those who pass high tests have better vocabularies than those who pass low tests is a matter of association. Are high tests associated with large vocabularies? If this is true then there is a relation or association between high tests and large vocabularies.

High tests were correlated with the following factors:

1. Large vocabularies.
2. Jobs requiring high intelligence.
3. Good logical memory.
4. Good education.
5. High suggestibility (line test).
6. High suggestibility (weight).
7. High suggestibility (weight).
8. Wildness in youth.
9. Good attention.
10. Long jobs.

Since the median mental age was 14 years, 7 months, all who are above that age are considered as having passed high tests. Those be-

low that mental age are designated as having passed low tests. With the exception of the factor of wildness in youth, the median was assumed to be the dividing line between "high" and "low".

The correlation between high tests and large vocabularies is plus 0.68, with a probable error of 0.14 (107 cases examined). The median number of words defined was 56 of the representative list of 100. This number represents a vocabulary of 10,080 words. Among the 54 men who passed high tests, 45 men explained the meaning of more than 56 words whereas 9 men explained less than 56 words. Among the 53 men who tested under the median mental age, 8 explained more than 56 words and 45 men explained less than 56 words.

The correlation between high tests and high intelligence jobs was plus 0.56, with a probable error of 0.17. The question regarding jobs was answered by 96 men. Among these, 45 tested high and 51 tested low. Of the 45 who tested high, 34 had worked at jobs requiring high intelligence while 11 had worked at jobs requiring low intelligence only. Among the 51 who tested low, 10 had worked at jobs requiring high intelligence, whereas 41 had worked at jobs requiring low intelligence only.

The correlation between high mental tests and good logical memory was plus 0.42 with a probable error of 0.20 (86 cases) 47 of these men tested high and 39 tested low. Of the 47 who tested above the median, 33 had good logical memory while 14 had poor logical memory. Of the 39 men who tested low, 11 had good logical memory while 28 had poor logical memory. This test is based on a short narrative in which ten ideas are logically connected. The story was read twice to each subject who was then asked to repeat as many points as he could remember. If the subject could remember all points, he was given a score of 10. If he could remember nothing he was scored 0. The median was 4.

The same test was given to 249 Reed College students. The median was 7. Four-tenths of one per cent of Reed College students gave two or less than two memories whereas 35 per cent of the unemployed men gave two or less than two memories. Six per cent of Reed College students remembered four or less than four points whereas 55 per cent of the unemployed men remembered four or less than four points.

The correlation between high tests and good education was plus 0.23 with a probable error of 0.19. The correlation is 0.00 when the

in Portland. Out of the 107 men tested there were 19 who were under feeble-minded cases are eliminated. All of the feeble-minded subjects failed to reach the higher grammar school grades in spite of the fact that several attended school until manhood. Ninety-seven men stated the extent of their formal education. Forty-nine of these passed high tests and 48 low tests. Among those who were above the median in intelligence, 30 were above and 19 below the median in education. Of those who were below the median of intelligence, 18 were above and 30 below the median of education.

The correlation between high mental and high suggestibility tests in the line suggestibility test was minus 0.18 with a probable error of 0.21. In other words, there was a positive correlation between low mental tests and high suggestibility. Eighty-three men took this test. Forty-four of these passed high and 39 passed low mental tests. Of those who tested high, 18 were above and 26 below the median in suggestibility. Of those who tested low 23 were above and 16 below the median of suggestibility.

In the second weight suggestion test there was a correlation of minus 0.01 between high mental tests and high suggestibility, with a probable error of 0.21. Ninety-one men took this test, of whom 48 were above and 43 below the intelligence median. Of the 48 who were above the intelligence median, 24 were above and 24 below the median of suggestibility. Of the 43 below the intelligence median, 22 were above and 21 below the median of suggestibility.

There was a correlation of minus 0.16 between high performance in mental tests and high suggestibility in the test with weight suggestion blocks. The probable error is 0.15. Ninety men took this test, of the 46 above the intelligence median, 19 were high and 27 low in suggestibility. Among the 44 below the intelligence median, 25 were high and 19 low in suggestibility.

The correlation between high mental tests and good attention was plus 0.20 with a probable error of 0.21. Eighty-two men took the test. Of these, 42 were above and 40 below the median of intelligence. Of the 42 above the intelligence median, 25 were above and 17 below the attention median. The same test was given to 249 Reed College students. Only six unemployed men made better records in the attention test than the median attention of the college students. Thus, only 7 per cent of the unemployed men showed better attention ability than the lower half of the college group.

The correlation between high test performance and parental care in youth was plus 0.01 with a probable error of 0.16. Ninety-four men answered the question in regard to wildness in youth. Forty-nine of these passed high tests and 45 passed low. Of the 49 above the intelligence median, 27 did not and 22 did run wild as boys.

Of 97 men, 37, or 38 per cent had trades. Of the 24 who tested the lowest there were 7 who learned trades. As a rule, the men started to work at early ages.

The reasons given for coming west were of the usual nature. Some wanted to better their conditions, others had heard the west advertised, and others "just wanted to see the country".

A large percentage of the men had accepted charity of various sorts, but there were others who said they never accepted free help.

The men as a whole had dissipated a great deal. Nearly all the men were victims of some of the usual vices. Eighty per cent of the men admitted visiting prostitutes.

Very few of the men stated that their parents or relatives had been in insane, feeble-minded, or other kinds of institutions. They seemed rather shy in answering questions having to do with inherited defects in their parents or relatives. In this respect, the questions concerning heredity were of little value.

Among the fathers of the unemployed men who were tested, 55 had skilled trades or professions, and 33 were unskilled. Seventeen of the men testing below the median had fathers who were not skilled in any occupation. Nineteen men did not answer the question concerning the occupation of the father. Of twelve men passing the lowest tests, 11 had fathers who were common laborers or otherwise unskilled, and the father of the twelfth man was insane.

Dissipation did not seem to affect the efficiency of some of the men. A few of them who tested superior adults were victims of extreme dissipation. Thus, environment in some cases did not seem to affect the intelligence. Of course, there was no way to show that if certain men had not been in bad environments they would have tested higher. Nevertheless, it is significant that extreme dissipation in some cases did not affect the intelligence appreciably.

One of the unexpected developments of the tests was to find that long jobs are correlated with low tests, rather than long jobs with high tests. In connection with this fact it is well to note the general attitude of those who tested low compared with that of those who

tested high. As a rule, those who tested low were plodders and did not seem to grow impatient with the tasks given them. On the other hand, those who tested high were more or less flighty and would be satisfied with an approximate answer. Herein may lie the reason why the less intelligent can hold their positions for a long period of time. They work steadily without becoming impatient. It is difficult to arouse antagonism in them. Thus, by becoming used to some when he hires them for simple work. The restless ones who, as a rule, given task, they get the routine habit and can please the employer pass the higher tests, are more apt to be provoked to rashness or discontent, and as a consequence more liable to resign a position or look for a change. Even those who were lowest in the tests held long jobs. Of 24 who passed the lowest tests, 10 held short jobs only, whereas 14 held at least one long job, recently. However, when those who tested low did lose their jobs they were often idle six months or more before they were able to get other jobs.

I have stated that 25 to 50 per cent of all prostitutes are feeble-minded or mentally defective. The Portland Vice Commission reported the number of this class in Portland to be 2,500. If the general ratio of mental defectiveness holds, there are from 625 to 1,250 mentally defective women among them. The assumption was then made that there should be, biologically speaking, at least the same number among the men of the same population. The probable group among whom they would be found would be the destitute unemployed men. Now, let us see what light the tests on the 107 men will throw on the probable number of mentally defective men in Portland. Nineteen men or 18 per cent of the 107, tested under twelve years mental age. The known destitute unemployed men on April 15, 1915, was 3,600. If 18 per cent were mentally defective, then there were in Portland about 600 unemployed defective men. This is approximately the number equal to the minimum estimate of the feeble-minded prostitutes in Portland. If those under thirteen years mental age are considered feeble-minded, then there were 28 men or 26 per cent of those tested who were feeble-minded,—or at least mentally backward. If the ratio holds good for the 3,600 destitute men, then there were about 900 out of the known total who were feeble-minded. This is less than the maximum estimated. If we take the maximum estimate of unemployed and the minumum estimated percentage of feeble-mindedness we have about 1,800 feeble-minded. If 26 per cent of the maxi-

mum were feeble-minded then there were 2,600 mentally defective men 12 years in intelligence, but there were three out of the nine in the 12-year-age group who were feeble-minded and absolutely unable to manage their own affairs with ordinary prudence. This would make a total of 22, or 21 per cent of the 107 men tested. If this percentage holds good for the 3,600 known destitute unemployed men, then there were in Portland about 700 mentally defective men who were unemployed. If 21 per cent of the maximum (10,000) were defective, then there were 2,100. Since a large number of the 10,000 destitute unemployed men were transients, there would be a considerable less number than 2,100 in Portland at any one time who were feeble-minded. Still, when it is remembered that those who made the Portland school survey stated that there were 2 per cent of the school population who were mentally backward and 1 per cent who were mentally defective, the maximum estimate I have made does not seem too large. If 2% of the school children were mentally backward, and one per cent feeble-minded, then there were in the city schools 600 who were backward and 300 who were defective. If this same ratio holds good for the whole population of the city then there were 5,000 mentally backward, 2,500 of whom were defective.

Professor Terman, referring to the tests which we have used in our tests of the unemployed says:—"I am led to think that what we have regarded as the average adult intelligence, namely, the sixteen-year level, will really turn out to be the average for ordinary adults; that what we have termed superior adult intelligence will only be found among adults who are decidedly superior in ability; and that the fourteen-year level may reasonably be called the low adult average. I think a majority of the people who test between thirteen, and, say fourteen and one-half and fifteen, are decidedly dull, but by no means necessarily dull enough to be considered by other people as feeble-minded. Even twelve-year intelligence, I think, can make fairly good success in life, provided it is backed up by honesty, industry, and a reasonably agreeable personality."

Professor Terman says further: "Our recent tests of adults indicate that average intelligent, but ordinarily successful men test about sixteen years, at least we found that half tested between fifteen and seventeen; one-fourth between seventeen and nineteen; and one-fourth between thirteen and one-half and fifteen. One tested only slightly above twelve."

Thus Professor Terman in his tests of the ordinarily successful men, found only one who tested less than thirteen, whereas we found 28 out of 107 unemployed in Portland who tested less than thirteen years by the same tests. A good indication that most of these 28 men are feeble-minded is brought out by the school records made by the subjects as shown by the questionnaire. One man started to school when he was six and quit in the fifth grade when he was 20 years old. Another man entered school when he was seven years old, attended constantly until he was 14, quitting school when he was in the third grade. Another man went to school until he was eighteen years old. By that time he was in the low sixth. Another man went to school until he was seventeen, reaching the fourth grade. Several others had similar school experiences.

An incident showing the ability of one who passed a very low test is the following: Mr. Manning, general secretary of the Associated Charities, of Portland, sent S. on an errand. He gave S. a note to the proprietor of a certain bakery, who was to give a sack of bread for charitable purposes. S. was given a large sack and ten cents for carfare. S. after he had been given explicit directions, departed, returning an hour late. Instead of doing as he was told to do, he walked to the bakery, spent the carfare for two loaves of bread, put the bread in the sack, and without presenting the note returned to Mr. Manning's office. In spite of this man's mental defectiveness, he has performed simple tasks such as feeding stock. To observe this man, as well as several others, who tested low, one would not have suspicions at once that he was feeble-minded. This man told me he did not speak a single word until he was over six years old.

On the other hand there were many men who were as brilliant as the most intelligent highly educated men. This was true especially of certain men who stayed at the Unemployment Union. A large percentage of the men staying at this place were members of the I. W. W. organization.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

I. Feeble-mindedness is an important phase of the unemployment problem as it exists on the Pacific Coast. About 21 per cent of the destitute unemployed men are feeble-minded (high-grade morons).

II. Organized charity cared for a larger proportion of feeble-minded than did the municipal lodging houses.

III. There is a high correlation between the size of the vocabulary and the degree of intelligence.

IV. As a rule, the unemployed men who were above the average in intelligence had good logical memory. Reed College students were far superior to the unemployed men in logical memory.

V. Jobs requiring high intelligence are associated with high intelligence according to the tests used.

VI. There is little relation between the amount of education and the excellence of intelligence of the men examined. The correlation obtained is too low to be significant. When the feeble-minded men are eliminated from consideration the correlation drops to zero. This is a strong indication that the Stanford Revision of the Binet-Simon Scale is a good measure of natural intelligence. If the correlation had been high, the indication would be that the tests measure nurture rather than nature.

VII. There is little or no relation between the degree of suggestibility and the intelligence level.

VIII. There was little relation between good attention and good mental tests. The coefficient of correlation is too small to be significant.

IX. There was no relation between wildness in youth and intelligence. The men having roving dispositions when boys were as intelligent as those who were inclined to remain at home.

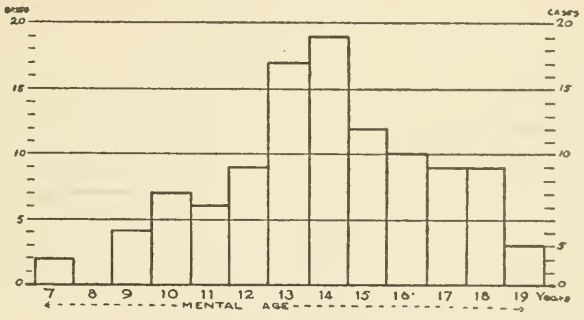
X. Extreme dissipation did not seem to affect the intelligence level of some men. In spite of much dissipation some men passed superior adult tests.

XI. Taken as a group the destitute unemployed men were much inferior mentally to a group of ordinarily successful men. The modal intelligence level of the unemployed was in the 13- and 14-year age groups. The modal for a group of 62 adults, including 30 business men and 32 high school pupils (tested by Lewis M. Terman)* over 16 years of age, lay between the mental ages of 15 and 17 years. Nevertheless, there was a larger percentage of superior adults among the unemployed than among the business men and high school students. Although no

*Lewis M. Terman—The Measurement of Intelligence. 1916.

one of the 62 men tested by Professor Terman had a mental level under 13 years, there were 28 unemployed men or 26 per cent of the total who fell under 13 years mental age. Thus unemployment is a problem affecting both mentally deficient and mentally superior men.

XII. The number of men examined in this study is too few to make extensive generalizations. Further study should be made. The generalizations which have been made in this paper relate to the unemployment problem as it exists in Portland, Oregon, and probably the Pacific Coast. Similar studies made by Professor Lewis M. Terman, Dr. J. Harold Williams, and Mr. H. E. Knollin tend to parallel the findings of the study presented in this paper.*



Johnson, Glenn R.: Distribution of Mental Ages of 107 Unemployed Men at Portland, Oregon.

NOTE—Since this study was made, the Stanford Revision of the Binet Scale has been altered slightly. The latest revision yields somewhat lower mental ages from nine and ten years up.

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